

NO DROLL, BUT A RATIONAL ACCOUNT,

Making out the probable *Fall* of the
present, with the *Rise* and *Succeſſion* of
what the ENGLISH WORLD un-
derſtand by the Term of

A FREE PARLIAMENT:

In a Letter to a Friend.

1 Cor. 9. 1.

Feb. 15. - 59.

Am I not a Free man?

LONDON,
Printed for YE.

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D R O L,

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Making out the probable Fall of the
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 what the ENGLISH WORLD understand by the
 term of a FREE PARLIAMENT.

Sir,

Dispensing with those Epistolary *Caressees*,
 (with which friends entertain each other) I
 shall immediately without *Prologue*, give you
 an account of the grounds of my Confident
 perswasion, that our English affairs are not
 far from settling upon their old Bottoms.

The *Topics* from which I shall deduce my arguments,
 shall be from Considerations of the present Power called
 a Parliament, the *Army*, the *Señaries*, *Forciners*, *General Monk*.
 More heads I might pitch on, and more arguments might
 be raised from either of those that have been mentioned:
 but I shall confine my self, and present you at one view,
 such which are *plain* and *conspicuous*, to every one that hath
 but *three hours* leisure to sit still and consider, that being the

space of time which I have allotted my self, for the summing up of these following *Reasons*.

First this Parliament.

They are in great *Contempt* with the people universally, and are *stigmatized* with such a name of *Contempt*, that every child's mouth is, as well, as every history hereafter will be full of: generally hated, very little either loved or feared. Such a power certainly cannot stand. But if it were granted, that they were either loved or feared (with one or both of which all the world by experience knows that a power that is likely to continue must be supported) yet the surest mark or *indicium* of a fall (which *verity* it self hath proclaimed as an indisputable *Maxim*) appertains to them, and that is, *An house divided against it self cannot stand*. For the *Army*, the *Anabaptists*, the *Presbyterians*, the *Independents*, the *Protector*, nay the King himself have each their friends amongst them, which according to their several interests, do either disorder, or discover *Counsels*, and put them upon such *extravagancies*, that there appears to be little sound wisdom in their *Resolves*.

Nay, though we should conceive them to be all as one man, the affairs and concerns of the Nation are at this time so jumbled, and discomposed (the publick distempers bearing some *analogy* and proportion to *acute diseases* in the body, for which a sudden remedy must be found) that it is not probable that many *Physicians* (especially having little skill) can find out the *Remedy*, or by a timely concurrence pitch upon what may be for recovery, before the Patient hath breathed his last.

But leaving *Similies*, and to speak plain English, they have made it their *business*, and do daily disoblige such which have been called the *Parliaments friends*; witnesse their resolve to put to sale the *Estates* of the *Boothians*, which are very numerous in every County and City, and such which have not yet felt so much, as the smart of *Sequestration*, who no doubt, rather than admit such a Sentence to be executed, will rally that affair into better order,

der, being now better armed than they were, and have better laid their counsels, and intelligence, having the plausible and lovely pretence (or rather the just end and design) of a *Free Parliament*.

Now consider, who are to manage the affair against their *just and well ordered designs*, even such whose *Grandeurs* and leading men (as some could be named) are rash, heady, inconstant and extremely ill beloved, declining in their *Reputations* even with those that are thought to be their *Seconds*, and *Abettors*.

But provided that none of these things were known concerning them, (*viz.*) universal contempt, intestine Divisions, distempers, for which a sudden remedy is to be pitcht on, the ingrate character of disobligation of friends, or were it that they had sober *Leaders*, is it possible think you to eradicate out of the peoples minds a sense (and that accompanied with a male-contentedness) that they are not the fourth part of that *Power* they would have the people believe them to be, that is, the *Representatives* of the *Commonalty*, acting (in the exclusion of their fellow Members) what they have condemned in the *Armies* late *Force* as *Treasonable*?

And yet to see the strange blindness and delusion of men, as it were, resolved to ruine themselves! How have they lately indeavoured to stir up those high degrees of dislike and hatred of the people to an unappeasable rage, and fury, by a resolution once again to *enslave* their *Consciences* with a *Contradictory Oath* of the *Blackest Qualification* (being negative) in such a juncture of affairs, when all things are full of mutation and inconstancy; and when every one that hath any thing of *Conscience* left alive, as to oaths, are ready penitently to beg *God* forgiveness for former perjuries, and are very loath to be intangled with more?

But true it is, and a sad truth it is, there are too many that are ready (so they may secure their *temporal*) to hazard their *eternal* concerns; but our wise *Senators*, as if they were thoroughly studied in the art of *Self-Ruine*, have contrived a way to lose those that may have throats wide

wide enough to swallow down any *oath* they'l present them with, and that is by the *thundering vote* of 100000 *l. per menssem*, which Tax they were about to impose before their last *dissolution*, even upon the neck of fifteen months Tax in a Quarter of a year, and lately have reassumed the Debate. And though they have let it rest a little while, yet there is no probability, that they can conclude of a way to keep off such burthens, their debts with their *Militia* being increased. Now there is no one that keeps horses, but knows, that a great burthen, coming upon a galled back, will make any beast sling off its Rider. If great Taxes and impositions upon a wasted people do not make them do the like, I lose my conjecture.

A wasted people, I say, all Trade being dead and decayed, and no likelihood of Supplies for the *alleviation* of their intollerable pressures from our *Superiors* manmanagement of affairs: and this undoubtedlie is to be thought reason, that when a Nation grows universally necessitous, Fine words, plausible Declarations, and fair promises, have but little efficacy, either to stop or allay a *popular rage*, which is every minute ready furiously to break forth.

But it may be said, that such a suggestion is but a flourish; when that we see a *straight rein* carried on the neck of the people, by persons eminent, and in Armes, will not suffer them to know their own strength, and consequently will hinder that fury breaking forth. Some little plausibleness seems to be in the *objection*, but that which weakens it, is: That this Parliament have not now a *Cromwel*, an *Essex*, a *Fairfax*, a *Fleetwood*, or a *Lambert*, for that work. And a sense of their own weakness fills them full of jealousies, even of such, they would have the world believe they most love, and that seem to pursue and strengthen their interest. Never had jealous husband more suspicion of his wife, than they have of General *Monk*, and the jest of it is, that even Mr. *Harrington* himself is thought by some of the soberest of them, to propose to the world his *Oceana* and *Rota*, as a pretty piece of *problematical* intrigue, to puzzle and amuse them in their intentions, that look towards that way of settlement.

This

This, and other things Considered; I am of perswasion, that their friends are without name. The *Anabaptists*, they have discarded, put out of Commission, disbanded, and the re-admission of this or that particular self-seeking person into favour since, will not reconcile that interest, or party. The *Independents*, they have lost by their conclusions in their chiefest cabal: that a National Church is necessary. The *Presbyterians*, they fright from both their affection, and obedience, with the severe menace of *Sale* and *Sequestration*: And they must certainly despair of any Compliance from the Kings party, whether *Papist* or *Protestant*, they having been so ground and oppressed by them: And I suppose all, or most of the *young* (and as yet uningaged) both *Gentry* and *Clergy*, that are new come into the world, have little affection, either for them or their waies, but breath after a settlement upon old foundations both in Church and State.

The Symptoms and signs of which *Epidemical disaffection* (if no other be named) manifestly appears in the variety of bold Declarations, viz. of the *City*, *Cornwal*, *Devonshire*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Glocestershire*, *Cheshire*, *Yorkshire*, *Barksire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Kent* and *Lincolnshire*, and other Counties following those Presidents, if well weighed might be enough to make their hearts ake.

But how can they expect any friends, that neither are nor know how to be friends to themselves? for though they may abound in little pieces of cunning and spiteful artifices, whatever other spirit they have, they have not amongst them the true spirit of Government, which knows nobler and generoulier the trulier wise and not craftie way of self-preservation, and protection (not destruction and confusion) of Subjects.

Not to multiplie instances, one of the chiefest properties of a well managed Government, is so to order affairs, as to be well provided with intelligence, that is trulier such, and not tales, and trifling informations of *Mercenary pick-thauks*.

I have heard that since the late disturbance, one of them has

hath laid out 500*l.* in *intelligence*: it is possible he might have had for his money many wanting Letters by the Post, acquainting him it may be that *Queen Elizabeth* is dead, I mean of such things that cannot be prevented, — or perchance another *Item* in order to the *balance* of that *vast summe*, may be the *information* of some few pimping, treacherous tell-tales, that frequent clubs and *Coffee-houses*, whose chief business is to *jolt* others into discourse, that speaks their dislike of the present *Power* and their proceedings; and what's the issue of all such intelligence, but their own trouble and amazement? they being like him that's affected with the *Yellows*, that is, very cunning to find a man in bed with his wife, and then runs *Horn-mad*; but for that noble kind of *intelligence* that searches the *very veins* and *intrails* of interests, either forin or domestick, they must needs be strangers to; for to that, there is a stock of depth requisite, and an honorable esteem, so as to be received into *Councils* without suspicion; and though such agents be suspected, they must have parts sufficient to *weather* such a point.

But the chiefest thing that puts *Governors* into a capacity of preserving themselves, and protecting their subjects, is, a *Legal Title* to that *Supremacy* they have over people. If that be wanting, The best *Laws* and *Constitutions* they can make, or promote, will not be satisfactory. And especially the *Penal* part of the *Law*, will be so far from satisfying, as that it will *inrage*; though both the *Laws* and the *Execution* of it, be in it self *Just*. For this is written upon mine, and every man's spirit, by the indelible *Law* of *Nature*, not to take unkindely the blows of a *Faiber*, though he mistake, and I deserve not *Correction*. When as, I shall as naturally despise that person that hath nothing to do with me, and hath no superiority (of right) over me, if he gives me but *Reprehensory* words; Yea, though I may deserve them.

Now, if we Consider what *Legality* they have to the *Supremacy*, according to the general apprehension of the people; how can they hope for other, but that their *Indulgencies*

dulgence, will not winne upon affections, and their severity will at last, rather enrage, than strike a reverential awe upon the spirits of people; Every one being now, almost of this opinion, (*viz*) That besides the known right of the King, and that *major part* of the Parliament, consisting of Lords and Commons excluded by them, (though intitled to the *Legislative* power by the old *Fundamental laws* of the Nation) that they are out of doors, by the death of the last King; his grant for their *perpetuation* (were they a full House) expiring with him: For, he can no more oblige his *Heir* to such a performance (it being through a tumultuary force, and intrenchment upon a reasonable prerogative) than a present possessor of an estate *in tail*, can grant away either the whole, or part of the inheritance, from his *heir-at Law*, and that obligatory to his Successor,

Besides, Sir H. Vane his spitefull remembring them of their *Alt* (the day before the last rout, and that now standing upon record) for their dissolving, (and not adjourning) hath not a little weakened the present powers *pretensions* to legality.

More might be said on this head; but I leave that superfluity, having said I think enough, to preface the *instability* of this present Power, from Considerations relating to the Power it self.

The Army.

They are any mans money; though possibly there may be some divisions among them as to opinions, which is not much to be minded, since the purging, and expulsion of their *fanatick* and *sedition* Officers. — And too; as the common Soldiers, if examined well, there may amongst them be found a great number, that heretofore have actually been in the Kings service; and a greater number, whose judgments incline them to take to that party; if they could be satisfied, that another *easier* employment would occur to their indigent, and necessitous condition. And I do apprehend that there is no more skill waiting, to persuade them, to serve a *divers* interest to what they seem to serve, than he hath, that knows how to *Commit*, and *Win* a *Mistress*, that is only *Coy* in pretence.

B

Again,

Again, Consider that the new Officers put in place of the *Wallingfordians*, are most of them of *Presbyterian* interest, and principles; and, which way that looks, all the world now knows so well, that it is folly for any that mention it, to draw over it any *tiffany* or veil.

Moreover, the *Soldier*, whatever his persuasion, or interest (*besides pay*) may be; must necessarily understand, that this *Parliament* chiefest concern (even beyond the *countermine*; and *opposition* to the *common enemy*) must be, the keeping them in *subjection*, and in such, that they may discard, purge, order, model *ad libitum*, so as to prevent the *several forces*, which through former *presidents*, they are both acquainted with, and inclined to.

The Settlers.

They are such, either upon the score of *delusion*, or *self-end*; the latter of which, I conceive to be the weakest interest in the Nation. For we begin well enough to espy the cheat of either *self-advancement*, or *inriching*, by the specious pretence of *Religion*. And there is none that have been *sufferers*, (which kinds of men are very numerous) but their fingers itch, to be plucking off the *painted feathers*, that are *imped* into the wings of such *dissembling daws*. And for such which are *deluded*, and so follow the dictates of an *erroneous conscience*, it will not be wide of the matter, if it be asserted with confidence; That *conscience* if it be not urged to *speedy action*, it naturally follows the dictates of *reason*; Which, if there be leisure enough given for what is naturally radicated in the soul of man, to exert it self, it may in time be brought to right conclusion; or in a little time, be brought to a *divine uncertainty*. If the first, they will soon concur with what is asserted; if the last, the *frailty* of the *phantastic* will so sufficiently be *palsied*; that *motion*, and *activity* will by consequence without any great difficulty, be either *delayed* or *diverted*.

But suppose we do grant, that they are past hope of recovery from the spiritual disease they have contracted, by drinking in of *poisoned waters* (which is the worst that can be supposed) I conceive the present *Powers* favouring their interest, will rather *weaken*, than *strengthen* *these*

their own: for 'tis plainlie seen by anle one (that will not be wilfullie blind) that the *English* *Sectaries* are of such *Spirits* and *Principles*; that they will be pleased with no *Power* that shall be set over them; but howsoever they be favoured or indulged, the *Liberty* that is given will make them the more presume upon *factious* *Contrivances*: than being one tough humour of theirs, not to be moved by all the *politick* medicines, even to count it *Religion*, to oppose and contradict the present *Superiority* whatever it be, as is was lately in a very publick place discoursed by two eminent *Sectaries* of very different persuasions; and concluded by them both, that a *Single Person* were the best *Medium* to promote their various interests, and I (though different from them both) do concur with them in this, That that *Centre* wherein such distant *lines* meet, will prove the best *Basis* for a future Settlement.

But supposing they do not generallie *shumble* upon such an *expedient*, but that things proceed according to the present appearing establishment, It will be found a difficult thing for any particular interest (whose divers applications are verie frequent) to *acquiesce* in the determinations of, or to gain satisfaction in, one thing that is desired from a company (they know) divided in Interest, every man being apt to promote his peculiar *Party*, though with an *unbecoming* neglect of the *publick*: hoping to wass himself safely over the troublesome farges of our distracted times, in a private *Botton* of his own.

To conclude this, their humors being so various and different, and being much a stranger either to their Principles or practices, and believing they will chafe, if not hourly suggest to themselves (from what is hinted) more reasons than I can furnish them with, I am inclined to believe that the *non ultra* of those that have any thing of brain or conscience left them, will be to subscribe to the capital assertion.

Fortinners.

The universally received rule of nature and providence triumphs forth this certainty, That no person or nation can subsist without the mutual assistance of a private or publick neig-

bourhood.——But now, whilst this *Power* that is in being continues, as we have not at present, so can we not upon any rational grounds expect for the future any *Cordial* or *advantageous* *foreign Correspondence*: for they are not so much contemned at home, but as much abroad, and the name of an *English man* for their sakes.

Applications from *Foreriners* do de facto cease. As either apprehending the present *Power*, not to be worth the minding, or because there hath been so much variation and inconstancy in our *Supreme authority*, that they doubt, what by that time their *Envoies* and *Agents* have their *instructions*, and come to set their foot upon *English Shores*, those to whom their *Messages* have been directed, may in all probability not be found.

But suppose they do continue so long: *Ambassadors* when they come, find not that *splendour* which strikes an awe and *seriousness* upon the *spirits* of *State-Admistrers*; (for let me speak my apprehensions) however it may be thought by wise men, that the *pomp* and *ceremony* of *Religion* may eat out the substance and reality, when it exceeds measure: yet undoubtedly that *splendour* (which the *mortified Hermite* may call *pageantry*) is a thing very requisite to make power and *Supremacy* awfull and regarded. But as to us, when *foreign Serenissimos* shall come to apply themselves to our *great Masters* (especially after a *self-denying Ordinance*) they may chance to find some of them in the *Fleet*, or *Upper Bench*, or if they should seek after the *palaces* of such that have better fortunes, it will in likelihood be told them, that his or their Lodging is at the *Cat* and *Fiddle* in such an *allie*, and what *repute* this gains with *foreigners*, let all that have travelled imagine.

But to speak (as I apprehend) more to the purpose, What *foreigner* is there that may be in such a condition, as either to be afraid of us, or may be readie to court us for either *benefit* or *assistance* from us; for these are the motives to our grounds of *foreign Leagues*; tis true, were our hearts united, we are a Nation as expert in *Martial* affairs at this time, that there is no one Nation, but may be afraid of us: But alas! how to conquer or keep down the *common*

Enemy

Enemy, is object sufficient to our studies and courageous endeavours; and who is that Common Enemy now? but many *near* parts of our own Nation, if they were to be cast into an hundred portions. — But if we consider particular Nations, where is one in the European world, that we have not either provoked, or that are not very weak & ruined, or that wait not to make their *Markets* on us, as occasion shall serve? *Spain* we have provoked by assisting *France* against them, and by the protracted war that hath been between us these three years past *France* cannot forget what injuries we did them when we upheld *Spain* against them, And we cannot expect other, but that they uniting should remember our mischiefs to both. *Portugal* we wasted, and though we should enter into a strict union, 'tis now to no purpose, they are so low. *Holland* cannot forget our Naval injuries, and would rejoice to see our ruler. What impediments have we been to the affairs of *Denmark*, and if we should endeavour to hold up the head of sinking *Swedeland*, what account would it turn to? or may we expect anie great matters from the distressed Protestants of *Lucerne*, *Angrona*, and the *Polish Borders*? Those if anie we have obliged by our large and charitable benevolencies towards them when distressed, had we not plaid the trick of a skittish Cow, which having given a good pail of milk, kicks it down with her foot; Had we not converted those vast sums which were so trulie bestowed for their relief to other uses, and those poor creatures scarce anie thing the better.

In a word, as to espousing or ballancing *forein* interests, we have (almost for these twentie years past) rather plaid the fool, than the States men: this being principallie considered, we having trifled awaie the Support of our Nation, and that which all the world have voted to be the *English* staunchest interest, and that is *Trading*.

General Monk

Justine mentions a cunning worshipper of the Rising Sun, who while all the Nobles and people were looking towards the *East*, (an obnoxious of the first salute) quite contrary turned his face to the *West*, and by the reflection of its early beams upon the tops of the houses directly opposite, made the first discovery.

So

So we notwithstanding the old *Adage* *Auges, Ab Augulis* *ne esse malum*, have been some few months staring towards that point (while our eyes are almost wearie) to see whether we could discover the approach of the refreshing beams of a *Free Parliamentary Interest* (which most are now of opinion must rise from the South) and no dissensions of the timorous, or confidences of the contrary minded could shake our belief, but that General Monk was the *Possilion to Phibias* his *Charlot*.

And when the riddles of his mysterious Declarations & Messages have been opposed as an Argument to baffle our hopes, we have look'd on these rather as motives to fireng then them, pleasing our selves with a Fancie, that a dusky Gray, rather than a bright, clear and radiant Morn, is the more certain *Prognostick* of a fair day ensuing; but Mr. *Seu* by his Secretaryship (in the answer to some late applications) making him to speak plain *English*, without the least tang of that Countrie from whence the great *Cæsar* is march'd, hath done the Nation this courtesie, even to free them from delusion, and that *hopeful Person* this kindnesse (I wish it prove such) even to draw upon him a double portion of odium, in place of that universal love which began to be in the hearts of the generality of the people towards him, whilst they were perswaded that he would prove (not a promoter of a new Instrument of government) but a *reinstrument* to promote the revival of our *Fundamental* and ancient established government.

The concurrent circumstances that wrought a general belief, that he would be an assertor of a *Free Parliament*, or, (as the people universally phras'd it) that he would be *honest*, were these. Some true, some possibly otherwise, yet such which were generally received as true.—

As that when Sir *George Roade*'s business was on foot, he was not very *zealous* in making provision to oppose that action.

That he should soon after manifestly appear to be a mortal enemy to *Lambert*, who was destructive to that undertaking, *nipping it in the bud*.

That he shak'd his dissatisfaction, with proceedings, in the admission of this *Parliament*, when *Richard* was un-
horr'd.

hoff. That when this *Parliament* sent for him up (as they now have done) (and I suppose will do his *business* for him if he take not heed) he refused; pretending for an excuse, that by his remove the *Scottish* affairs might possibly be discomposed.

That he never made any actual application to this *Parliament* for a Commission, though possibly he might receive that ticket which made him a *Commissioner* and a *Colonel* (a more honorable place no doubt, under them, than General under *Cromwel*) yet we never heard of any returns on his part (as the manner was then) of an engagement to fidelity.

And then, while the *Committee of Safety* was *Trump*, we were full of it, that the *Scotts Convention* had voluntarily given him a years tax in hand.

Besides which, there was none but were bold to say he had received no small sums of *Foreign Coin*, and some supply of *Armes*.

And it is presumed, that the *City* were encouraged by the hopes they had of him, when they pluckt up their spirits and declared for a *Free Parliament*: Even then, when they were threatened, and feared daily to have their houses fired about their ears with *Graunades*.

Besides all this, there were other things whispered concerning him, that gave some persons greater assurance than all this, if they were *Secrets*; they are not fit to be published, if *Lies*, less fit.

But if there be any hopes left concerning him, they are upon these grounds, (viz) The first *Oaths* he seasond his conscience with, (and *Quæ semel est imbuta recens seruetur odore*) were those of *Allegiance*, and *Supremacy*. He being an understanding person, must understand this, or nothing; even, that an *Oath* is a *Sacred thing*, by which he was obliged not only to the late *King* himself, but his *Heirs*. Now, whether through distast, (as some) or like a *Soldier* (as others say) he declined that cause when he could do no more *Personal service*; and obliged himself to the *Protector*, he took no contrary *Oath*, or if he made a promise, it was not to him, and his *Heirs*, or other *Successors*,

and

and so may he look upon as free from any obligations, except he hath privately, of late tyed himself up, by any Engagement, which the world hath not yet heard, or taken notice of.

Again, if he be not extremly deluded, and talked out of his *prudentials* by Mr. Scot, and Mr. Luke Robinson, he must needs understand himself to hold an eel by the tail, while he espouses this present slippery, and ticklish interest (which appears to be so by the foregoing, and subsequent reasons) But suppose it would be as durable, as story tells us the *Venetian State* hath been, the most he can hope for, is but to be a *tellet de Bois* — But if he looks back, and takes the beginning of our troubles for his *horizon*, and considers how *Essex* was laid aside with ignominy; *Fairfax* uncommissioned, after all his great and Expeditionary services; *Cromwell*, after his death branded with the name of *Tyrant* and *Treitor*; *Lambs* before he had scarce wip'd the sweat from his victorious brows, after his achievements against the new branch of the *Common enemy*, shamefully laid aside with a trifling benevolence of an *Ad of Indempnity*; *Fleetwood* sent home by *weeping-Cress*: It were enough methinks, to smother any ambitious hopes of greatness, or any bawdy confidence of so much as security, in the birth, especially being a servant (as he possibly in Complément professes himself to be) to such Masters, so suspicious, so derided, so hated, and striving against the stream of the whole Nations inclinations; we having spent our whole stock of wanton blood, and are by poverty, forced unanimously to cry out, if not ready to fight for *Peace*, and a *livelibood*, and not for tricks and *Fancies*.

I will not trouble you further, than by the addition of one argument more, for the backing of the *Capital assertion*. And that is, That he that writes this freely, and ingenuously, acknowledgeth himself to have been one of those thousand *well-meaning Prisoners*, that in the beginning of our unhappy times was deluded with those fair and religious pretences that were then on foot, but now, penitently and heartily, begs God, his King, and his Country forgiveness: being willing to hazard, yet sacrifice all his private interests, for the advancement of the publique welfare, for which he prays; and conceives the only remedy and Expedient to be

A FREE PARLIAMENT.

Black Monday, Jan. 30, 1660.

London, Printed for Henry Brime at the Gun in By-Lane.

